

CRISIS IN THE G. O. P.: CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE *Nation*

March 20, 1954

20¢

THE MAN BEHIND McCARTHY

by Alfred Bowman



EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Procedures vs. Freedom

Don Riddle

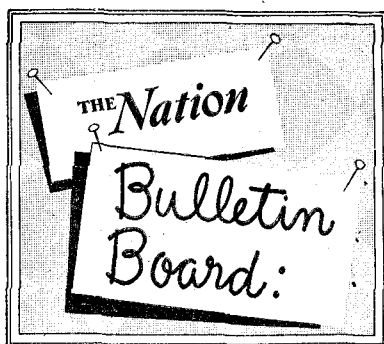
This Is Germany

J. A. del Vayo

East-West Trade

David Wightman

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COUPLE OF FRIENDS of mine descended on the office one day just as we were shutting up shop. Call your wife, they commanded, you're coming to Dave's apartment with us. I protested; they insisted. I was adamant; they threatened not to renew their subscriptions.

Well, it turned out to be an interesting evening.

A group of twenty people had met to talk about what they could do to fight McCarthyism. The McCarthy-Stevens-Zwicker incident had alarmed and aroused them. They wanted to do something.

Most of them were Democrats; some were Republicans; and some were members of Americans for Democratic Action. But none had any sense of personal participation in the fight against McCarthyism. As one man put it, "It's

good to subscribe to *The Nation* or to give some money to the American Civil Liberties Union—but I want to do more."

Many ideas were discussed—a chain-letter campaign, a national-petition drive, the revival of the Committees of Correspondence idea. One woman said: "Let's write letters to newspapers, to commentators, to politicians. It's not un-American to be against McCarthyism. Let's write to everybody who takes a public stand. Let them know that decent people support them." (Incidentally, there's no doubt that the great Ed Murrow talk over CBS-TV helped stiffen a lot of backbones.)

At the close of the evening most of the group agreed to hold similar meetings and invite other people in to discuss the situation. Meanwhile, these people would like to know whether *Nation* readers have any ideas. I'll be happy to pass them along.

One more thing: We have a quantity of "Arrest McCarthyism" postcards available which contain a special low-price offer for new subscribers. Readers can obtain them by dropping a note to *The Nation*.

A CORRESPONDENT in upstate New York says he heard our drama critic, Harold Clurman, speak at the New York State Ag-Tech Institute. Clurman

is, of course, one of the outstanding theater directors of the country. Our correspondent writes: "Clurman is stimulating, delightful, and excitingly aware of the world around him. His reviews are substantial where so much is shadow."

Last week Clurman told me about a lovely Broadway star to whom he had recommended *The Nation* on the logical ground that she would be interested in his comments on the current theater. Some time later he met her and she rushed up to him and said, "Harold, I'm so grateful to you for telling me to read *The Nation*."

Clurman beamed and said he was glad she liked the column.

"The column?" she said, "I mean the whole magazine. It's great."

P.S. She also liked the column, which is widely recognized as containing some of the soundest drama criticism published today.

I. F. STONE, the energetic editor and publisher of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, is a newspaperman who prides himself on his ability to gather the facts, but . . .

In his March 1 issue, patting himself on the back—not unusual custom in the publishing field—he observed that "even the liberal weeklies have shied away from the internal fight inside the American Civil Liberties Union." Actually, *The Nation* in its February 13 issue ran a one-and-one-half-page editorial called Time for Decision, and in its February 27 issue an editorial called A Wise Decision, both of which dealt directly with the "internal fight" in the A. C. L. U.

FOREIGN EDITOR DEL VAYO pointed out in the March 6 issue that ideas about restoring Chiang Kai-shek to power in China were highly unrealistic, that the present Mao Tse-tung regime was solidly entrenched and represented by far the strongest force in Asia. It was interesting to learn that Foster Hailey, *New York Times* expert on the Far East, said much the same thing in an address to the *Times's* tenth annual course for New York City teachers:

"Whether we like it or not the Chinese Communist government in Peking is there to stay. . . . There is little chance that it can be overthrown, barring a third world war." Mr. Hailey added that realism called for recognition of the present Chinese government, its admission to the United Nations, and abandonment of all notions that Chiang could ever be returned to power.

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3/20/54

Crisis in the G.O.P. . . *Carey McWilliams*

FOR the first time since McCarthy made his Wheeling, West Virginia, speech of February 9, 1950, the Senator is on the defensive. An extraordinarily rapid sequence of events—Adlai Stevenson's timely speech in Miami, the President's emphatic indorsement of Senator Flanders's chastisement of McCarthy, the Edward R. Murrow broadcast, and the release by the army of its detailed report on the efforts of McCarthy and Roy Cohn to win special privileges for the ineffable G. David Schine—has created an unparalleled opportunity to test McCarthy's actual political strength. More important, it has also created a providential opportunity for President Eisenhower to discipline the unruly right wing of the Republican Party and thereby resolve the crisis that could wreck it. McCarthy did not cause the crisis; he merely exploits it. Building up over a period of years, the crisis has three major aspects: regional, ideological, political.

The regional aspect has to do with the rise of two new major centers of power in the last few decades, neither of which has yet been properly integrated in the party structure. As John O'Donnell pointed out in his column last December, "The power of the Republicans in the East—the Lodges in New England and the Deweys in New York—has begun to fade in the face of the party strength of the McCarthys of the Midwest and the Nixons from the Pacific Coast." And of course he should have added, of the oil men in Texas.

The rise of California as a major center is indicated by the fact that the Vice-President, the Chief Justice, and the Republican majority leader are all from that state. As long as the California Republicans were ruled by Warren it did not matter too much that they were loosely organized or that Warren refused to commit them to one wing or the other. But his disappearance from the California political scene has set in motion a bitter undercover struggle for power between Vice-President Nixon and Senator Knowland, both young, both extremely ambitious. At stake is the question of whether California will tip the scales in favor of the right (Nixon-Knight) or the moderate (Knowland) wing. The outcome could determine the control of the party as a whole. Warren's disappearance has weakened the

strength of the moderates and increased that of the angry right-wing extremists, most of whom are concentrated in Southern California. For Warren was able to keep this "angry right" under fairly close control despite the fact that an attempt was made to challenge his leadership in 1952. More recently, Senator McCarthy has been wooing this right-wing element most effectively.

IN TEXAS the oil tycoons and other "big dealers," loaded with money, born gamblers, are determined to muscle in on all the great roulette games where power is won and lost in our society. Two of them, Clint Murchison and Sid Richardson, are using their millions to back Robert Young's bold bid for control of the New York Central in much the same way that Murchison and others have backed McCarthy's challenge to the top leadership of the Republican Party. Texas, like California, is a key state. The Texans will not take back seats; they demand front-row center. And in stalking the major citadels of power in the East, they are not above making some strange alliances.

In Maine, for example, a young McCarthyite, Robert L. Jones, who was formerly Senator Potter's assistant, has entered the Republican primary against Senator Margaret Chase Smith. Senator Payne, her colleague, has an interesting comment: "The genesis of this challenge seems to be a long way south of Kittery [Maine's southernmost city] and its financial sinews to be a matter of legitimate public interest." What is implied here, of course, is that Jones is being financed by the same Texas group which, at Senator McCarthy's prompting, helped elect Senators Butler and Beall in Maryland.

Not only is the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party challenged by the rise of new centers of power but it has been seriously weakened by major scandals in New York and New Jersey, and by incompetence and bad organization in Connecticut.

Even graver than the regional disturbances are the ideological divisions within the party. Demoralized in the 1930's, the right wing fumed and sulked during the Willkie and Dewey campaigns but began to stage a comeback after 1948. By 1952 the ideological division, which

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has its regional aspects too, was very sharp and quite even numerically. As long as Senator Taft was around, it could be bridged, but his death created an enormous vacuum into which McCarthy—and his important backer, Tom Coleman—have moved. When Mr. Stevenson says that the Republican Party is a house divided—"half McCarthy and half Eisenhower"—he really means that it is divided between a right and a moderate wing, for McCarthy is not the only Republican who defies the President's leadership.

Indeed, the problem which McCarthy's bid for power poses to the Administration is this: If he were to be repudiated or purged, where would the purge stop? Would it also include such Senators as Bricker, Jenner, Welker, Potter, Butler, Beall, Dirksen (chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee), Mundt, Malone, Schoeppel, Capehart, Bridges, and Knowland (majority leader in the Senate)? "McCarthyism" merely highlights a division which would still exist if Joe were to drop dead.

This basic ideological-regional split was sharply revealed in the vote on the Bricker amendment, in the vicious attack on Arthur H. Dean (spearheaded by Senator Welker), in the Administration's heave-ho of Dr. Clarence Manion from the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (which so greatly angered Senator Jenner and Representative Noah Mason of Illinois), and in Senator Bricker's recent attacks on Dulles. It was underscored when Governor Dewey, voicing opposition to McCarthy, left Albany recently so that he would not be there when McCarthy arrived. It is this division which makes it so difficult for Mr. Dulles to dispose of the John Paton Davies case and other issues. Just a few hours after Mr. Dulles had reported on the Berlin conference in Washington, Senator Knowland delivered a speech in New York which *Business Week* characterized as "a vote of no confidence in President Eisenhower's Secretary of State."

Then there are the men—Hamilton Fish, former Senator Albert W. Hawkes, Frank E. Gannett, former Representative W. Kingsland Macy, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, and others—who have long rallied to the banner of Douglas MacArthur. These elements have toyed for some time with the idea of a third party.

The point about these various semi-organized formations, as Frederic W. Collins wrote recently in the *Providence Journal*, is that they "would not dissolve even if McCarthy weakened a little. They owe no loyalty to Eisenhower, they have developed a self-sufficiency as a right wing, they are habituated to negativism and obstruction and they are surely moving into positions now to drive against Dulles on various synthetic issues related to his negotiations with Red China and Red Russia at Geneva. Even if McCarthy were 'contained,' the forces around him have a spontaneous expansionism of their

own maintaining a continuous threat against Eisenhower's government."

But the right wing only appears to be negative and obstructive; it has a program. The right wingers are critical of President Eisenhower's foreign policy not because they are isolationists but because they insist that this country should have unfettered freedom of action. They are deliberately, provocatively, critical of our allies and the United Nations because both occasionally force us to listen to world opinion. Convinced that our allies have no alternative but to follow us, even into a war which our allies might think avoidable, they see no reason why we should "coddle" them, that is, listen to them. Just as the right wingers want to be free of "foreign" influence and international pressures, so they would crush all domestic dissent if they could. Even the few mildly progressive aspects of the President's domestic program are anathema to them.

Given the close balance that exists within the party, the right wing could be catapulted into power by some dramatic development, say the failure of the Administration's European policy as epitomized by the rejection of E. D. C., or some folly of Syngman Rhee's in Korea, or by a show of "appeasement" at Geneva. Sooner or later the Administration must assert its supremacy over this right wing or remain its constant prisoner.

THE political aspect of the Republican Party's crisis consists in the Administration's inability to deal with the intra-party struggle for power. The President's advisers have not seemed to realize that in every new Administration such a struggle has usually arisen between the "winners" and the "losers" at the national convention. One group of the President's advisers—said to consist of General Persons, Jack Martin, who was formerly Senator Taft's assistant, and Gerald Morgan—has favored the appeasement of McCarthy on the ground that his target is the Democratic Party. Another group, which includes Sherman Adams, James Hagerty, Robert Cutler, and Bernard Shanley, has finally seen that the President himself is the immediate target. The principal "compromiser" has been Vice-President Nixon, who hopes thereby to become President one day.

But any compromise with McCarthy would be fatal to the Republican Party. Apart from the fact that the Senator can never be appeased, he simply does not belong in the party. He loathes the Deweys, the Lodges, the Saltonstalls, the Smiths, the Duffs, the Warrens, and the Eisenhowers. Hatred for Harvard University is simply one manifestation of the man's fury and contempt for the symbols of upper-class power and status. Like Hitler, he has a mortal loathing for all those who do not share his hysteria. His loathing, however compulsive, is based on a sound political consideration. The leadership of fascist and neo-fascist movements has usually

arisen outside the existing conservative parties. Both in Italy and in Germany the movements began as small parties with a hard core of lieutenants committed to a "leader." Conceivably McCarthy might be able to capture the Republican Party but the odds were against him even before he committed his recent blunders. He is probably incapable of the sustained effort required. Time and organization are needed, and McCarthy must either effect his control or force a split in the party's ranks by 1956. He has never shown any organizing ability. He might seek to gain time by appearing ready to compromise with the conservative leadership of the party (he would not honor any commitments he made), but the leadership cannot afford to compromise with him.

An incident that occurred recently in California illustrates the point. There the Republican County Central Committee in Los Angeles has refused to indorse State Senator Jack B. Tenney for reelection. Tenney, like McCarthy, started out as a Democrat, switched to the Republican Party, and as chairman of the California Committee on Un-American Activities was for nearly a decade the darling of the Los Angeles *Times* and other potent Republican interests. But Tenney, like McCarthy, is a "radical"; he does not belong in a conservative party. Forced by his own nature to move from one extreme to the next, the violence of his demagoguery finally became acutely embarrassing to the powers-that-be. Thus when Tenney ran for Congress in 1952 he found that he had been neatly double-crossed by his former Republican sponsor. Embittered, he joined forces with Gerald L. K. Smith and accepted the Vice-Presidential nomination of the Christian Nationalist Party. The trajectory of his career may well foreshadow McCarthy's.

NOW that the Administration has finally spotted the danger that McCarthy represents, it must make a major decision: to defy him and risk a split in the Republican ranks and a possible Democratic victory in November, or to compromise with him. The dangers of defiance are not as great as they have been made to appear. The public supported the President, not McCarthy, in the set-to over British trade with China. The response to the Murrow broadcast should also help to dispel the illusion that McCarthy is invincible. Once the people—and the politicians—see that the emperor has no clothes, his power to intimidate will vanish. But apart from this, McCarthy needs the veneer of Republican respectability far more than the Republican Party needs him. He has nowhere else to go, except to launch a third party and thereby run the risk not only of being isolated but of being publicly embraced by the Gerald L. K. Smiths and the Jack B. Tenneys. The Democrats will not take him. The President can withhold more votes from the Democrats by repudiating McCarthy than by compromising with him. Those who would be disaffected by a repudia-

tion of McCarthy will only sulk and stay away from the polls; they will not vote for the Democrats.

What the President should do is to carry the fight to McCarthy and beyond, as a means of bringing the unruly and potentially rebellious right wing of the party into line. He could win acceptance of parts of his domestic and much of his foreign program if the Democrats were to capture control of Congress, which they seem likely to do in any case; but he can expect nothing but disaster if the right wing should ever capture control of the Republican Party. For the best elements among the Republicans will not remain long in a party dominated by McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner.

Unfortunately neither the President nor his advisers seem to realize that if McCarthy is the chief noise-maker, Vice-President Nixon is the unacknowledged leader of the right wing. No more than Jenner or Dirksen or Mundt can he afford to permit the efforts to curb Mc-

Carthyism to get beyond the mild rebuke, the gentle reprimand. His reply to Stevenson failed to mention the key issue of McCarthy's attempt to intimidate the army and ignored the basic constitutional questions. The right wing, led by the Vice-President, will do everything possible to appear to support the President while actually protecting McCarthy.

Now is the time, therefore, for all good men to come to the aid of the Republican Party. Should the right-wing elements ever capture control of the party, they would try to destroy the Democratic Party which they have already tagged the "party of treason." Should the Republicans split, it would not necessarily benefit the Democrats, who have a fifth column of McCarthyites which might be tempted to join the "leader." Somehow the Administration must be forced to save the Republican Party, and as Mr. Stevenson has shown, the best method is to make McCarthyism a major issue in the campaign.

THE INCORRIGIBLE GERMANS

Adventures in Berlin . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

DURING my recent stay in Berlin I had the double task of reporting on the Big Four conference and on Germany itself. This article is in fulfilment of my second task. I worked with several advantages: I knew German and could therefore use the direct approach in exploring the sentiments of the man in the street; and I represented an American magazine, an asset to any foreign correspondent in West Germany. It was enough for them to know that I was writing for the most powerful country on earth, with whose help they would one day regain their hegemony in Western Europe. My Spanish origin proved a third advantage. My native land is governed by a Führer, a disciple of Hitler who is still in power. Many Germans were not at all inhibited in expressing their envy of me for having been born in so fortunate a land. This led to more than one diverting and ironical situation.

My first adventure of this kind took place in a well-known Berlin cafe, the Kempinski restaurant, now located on the Kurfürstendamm, the luxury street of West Berlin. The restaurant is

as popular as it was before the war, and its customers now as then include a fair sprinkling of *Schieber*, Germany's black marketeers. This time my table neighbor was by chance not a *Schieber* but a textile manufacturer from the Rhine on a business trip to Berlin. He was of the extrovert type and very curious to learn from an American journalist the "inside story" of the Foreign Ministers' conference. I encouraged him to air his views on Germany's economic future. He described the impressive progress of his own branch of industry, which had been, like all others, severely hit by the war. At the moment there was a little recession; January, with its sales, was not a good month in which to make money. But he was proud of his country's rapid national recovery, especially since it took place under the handicap of an occupation regime. He glowingly compared Germany's progress to that of France, "so lazy" and "so inefficient."

He told me that one of the first German ships built since the war, the Schwabenstein, took only eight months to complete from keel-laying to the

placing of her final carpet. It would not be long, he added, before Germany had once more a powerful merchant marine. "And a navy, too?" I asked blandly. He answered, with a cherubic smile, that he was a pacifist. I explored his pacifism for a while and found that it had at least one distinct limitation: the territories which Germany lost in the east to the Poles and the Russians had to be regained "in one way or another." I disappointed him at the last moment when he offered a toast to "that great man" whom my native country had the good fortune to have at its helm—General Franco. I told him that I could not share his emotions.

The taxi driver who one evening drove me to a Russian press conference in East Berlin proved to be a better pacifist. At first he refused to accept me as a passenger because he feared that "those people in the east" would confiscate his taxicab. We argued in the bitter cold street. Finally I asked a policeman to explain to the driver the special traffic arrangement which had been made for the conference and to make clear to him that my "circulation

permit" would protect both him and his taxicab against "political" risks.

On our way we talked. He complained of the city's destruction. "Today Berlin is only a big village," he said. Before the war it had 10,000 taxis; now it has only 800. But, as he put it, "better ten grams of butter a day than another war." He was over sixty and had seen Germany lose two wars. I got the impression that had Germany won these wars his pacifism might have been more moderate. He expressed the hope that Mr. Dulles would be unyielding. He believed that another June 17 (the day of the anti-Russian demonstrations on East Berlin's Stalinallee) was due any day. I asked him whether he was a Social Democrat and he answered drily: "I am for Adenauer."

IN MY daily exploration of West German public opinion I naturally met people who put the reunification of Germany above everything else. But I met very few disposed to admit that the millions of Germans living in East Germany also had a right to be heard and to play a more active role in the process of reunification than that of being handed over en masse to the Bonn government by Western diplomacy.

It was therefore a relief for me to make the acquaintance of a German bookseller who represented the best German spirit. He was neither a Communist nor a Socialist but simply a true liberal who deplored the fact that the great writers of Germany, even Goethe, lacked the "humanitarian" sentiments of a Tolstoy. I talked with this extraordinarily cultured man about old and new Germany.

He lamented that propaganda had lowered the level of the German press, saying—and I believe he was right—that the only West German newspaper which handled foreign news with relative objectivity was the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. He considered the correspondence between the objectives of American policy and those of German reaction extremely dangerous. By promoting the rearmament of Germany, he said, the Allies had lost a great opportunity to build a true German democracy on the foundations of the German people's hatred for militarism at the war's end. He quoted the views of Ludwig Zimmerer, a non-

Communist German writer who sees in the present German trend to the right all the characteristic elements of a political situation preceding the advent of fascism. These elements include an obsession for blaming Russia and the Communists for everything that goes wrong and the advocacy of a national anti-Russian and anti-Communist front as the sole remedy, appeals directly to fear rather than to reason, the tendency to imitate forms of social organization typical of the past, and, finally, the ability of the extreme right to get the financial support of big industrialists interested in stopping the revival of a strong working-class movement.

He acquainted me with the *Soldatenzeitung*, a publication which deserves close scrutiny by anyone interested in finding out how "democratic" an army Germany will have in the future. He also showed me a "German Soldiers' Calendar" published in Munich, the capital of the American zone, with a preface by Field Marshal Von Manstein and featuring a picture taken in September, 1939, of "brave German troops freeing oppressed Germans from the Polish yoke." The same latent German chauvinism takes other but no less menacing forms in East Germany. It is dangerous to put a German in uniform no matter what may be his political affiliation.

I have frequently criticized the Big Four, including Russia, for their courting of Germany. Of the four powers France, which has had the most experience with Germany, has shown the most realism in this respect. But unfortunately France must now follow a policy contrary to its deepest convictions in order not to incur the displeasure of Washington.

FOR MY PART I do not envy the Russians their position in East Germany. East Berlin is submitted constantly to political infiltration, provocation, and conspiracy. Whenever I made the subway trip from the Uhlandstrasse in West Berlin to the Thälmannplatz, where the headquarters of the East German government are located, I thought of the problem that East Germany presents to the Russians. It is a short trip, corresponding to a ride from Washington Square to Columbus Circle. Any West Berliner can make it at any time to

visit friends, a restaurant, or a shop. The opportunities thus afforded for anti-Russian and anti-Communist propaganda are easy to imagine. The economic threat is equally great. Since one West German mark is worth four East German marks, the quantity of smuggling going on is prodigious. A little private inquiry revealed that there have been days on which 100,000 eggs were transported illegally from the Russian zone to West Germany. And if I were the Russians, I would not put too much trust in the East German police, even if they do carry party cards.

I spoke with both Communists and non-Communists in the eastern sector. Contrary to the view of many Western "specialists" in cold-war predictions, I do not think that the events of June 17 will prove easy to repeat. But I do believe that many years will pass before there is any change in the fundamental attitude of Germans of either zone—if a change ever does take place. This attitude is best expressed in the phrase *Deutschland über Alles*. In the spirit of this slogan the Germans are working for the day when it will be they, and not the Russians and the Americans, who decide the political fate of Europe—and of the other continents. My hope is that the Russians at least will bear this constantly in mind. I am unhappily convinced that no power on earth will make the American government abandon its determination to rearm West Germany.

In East Berlin I met people who agreed with me on this. In my intimate talks in the Soviet zone I heard complaints that many East German workers are taking for granted certain advantages which they enjoy over the workers of the western zone: better social legislation, better chance to enter a university, and wider opportunities for a professional career. "Everything was given to them from above by the state," an East Berliner told me. "They did not have to fight for these things and therefore do not appreciate them. They hate the hand extended toward them." Nor do they love the Russians more for the fact that on the whole living is easier and more comfortable in the western than in the eastern zone.

Everybody knows that considerable numbers of Germans are fleeing from East Germany to West Germany. This is

a fact of considerable economic and political significance which has been abundantly stressed in the Western press. But the constant use which is made of these refugees in various anti-Russian activities is also an important political fact and is far less often talked about. Few know about the numerous Eastern Europe refugee organizations which are operating in West Germany

as the spearhead of the "Army of Liberation." This "army" has become the shelter of the nastiest type of East European fascist—like the Rumanian Iron Guardists—and of scores of unscrupulous war criminals. They have plenty of money to finance their operations.

Even without the cold war, with East and West working amicably together,

the solution to the German problem would have proved difficult of achievement. Today the problem has become infinitely complicated, with both sides pulling at a Germany which refuses to accept responsibility for the last war, which again argues—as in 1918—that it was not its army which lost the war, and which is still split in the manner symbolized by the division of Berlin.

RULES FOR INQUIRIES

Cannot Save Freedom . . . by Don Riddle

THE undoubted and genuine importance to individual freedom of procedural safeguards has led many people to see in the adoption of improved procedures for Congressional investigating committees a means of avoiding the abuses of such committees. Senators, Representatives, lawyers, and scores of other private individuals and groups have advocated reforms and have introduced resolutions to bring them about. Last week the Senate Republican Policy Committee issued a series of recommendations in this regard. Representative Keating (R., N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has been pushing a resolution which would establish uniform procedures for all Congressional investigations by amending the rules of the House.

Although the suggestions vary in detail, they all aim in some degree at making Congressional investigating procedure emulate that of the courtroom. We have certainly tolerated Congressional behavior that would not have been tolerated in the courts. The result has been injustice and injury to individuals which they would not have suffered had usual legal procedures been followed. But to assume that procedural reform—the making over of Congressional committees in the image of the

courts—will be sufficient to safeguard the individual's constitutional rights is to misunderstand the nature of the committees.

The Constitution vests "all legislative powers herein granted" in Congress. It was assumed from the very beginning—the first Congressional investigation took place in 1792—that included in these powers was the authority to seek facts as a necessary adjunct to lawmaking and to make inquiry into the administration of existing laws. Other powers have derived from this one—the power to issue subpoenas, compel testimony, punish contempt. Although some important investigations have had as their real concern the eliciting of facts for the purpose of intelligent lawmaking, it must be recognized that the bulk of the 600-odd Congressional investigations since 1792 have been politically motivated. Most grew out of the antagonism between the President and Congress; they were Congress's way of harassing the President and seeking to control the Administration. In the 1930's, however, President Roosevelt found that a strong Congressional majority following his leadership could use the investigating committee as a means of enlisting public support for reform measures which the Administration desired.

With the growth of mass-communication media the primary function of the investigating committee has become the influencing of public opinion. Although the committee investigations of the

1930's were concerned with fact-finding, the ultimate purpose was to put the facts on the public record for their propaganda value in support of the legislation which followed.

IT IS CONTENDED periodically in many editorials, including some in highly influential journals, that the current investigations and those of the New Deal period are much the same and that the only reason the liberals are objecting now is because they are the investigated instead of the investigators. This is nonsense. Even though the procedures used by McCarthy, Velde, and company are admittedly more careless of the rights of individuals than those of any other committees we have had, the essential difference goes deeper than that. It lies in what is being investigated. The inquiries of the 1930's sought to uncover the facts about the activities of witnesses, not their political or other beliefs. In the rare case where punishment resulted it was through conviction in the courts for violations of law. During the investigation of the banking houses, for example, no Senator asked Charles E. Mitchell, chairman of the board of the National City Bank, "Are you now or have you ever been a fascist?" He wasn't even asked if he was a Republican. He was questioned about various activities of the bank which he headed, some of which were clearly illegal.

One does not have to read very far in the hearings of the committees now

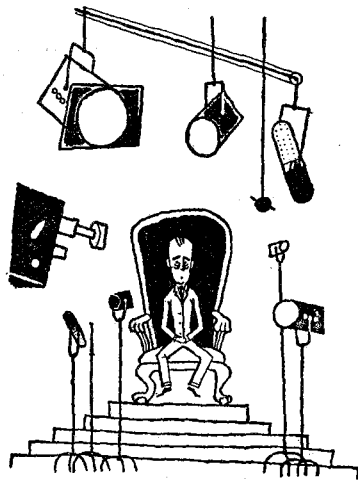
DON RIDDLE, assistant professor of political science at Hamilton College, has recently concluded a study of the work of the committee headed by Harry S. Truman when he was Senator.

headed by McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner to see clearly that most of their efforts are devoted to investigating the political *beliefs* of individuals in the guise of "exposing" the extent of the "Communist conspiracy." In fact, Velde insisted last spring that he was not investigating colleges and universities, merely individuals! There might be justification for investigation of some problems confronting institutions—their financial difficulties, for example—but as long as the First Amendment has meaning there can be no justification for inquiry into the beliefs of individual teachers or those of any other individual.

Reform of committee procedures would be a step forward, and to shoulder the houses of Congress with responsibility for the conduct of their committees by prescribing uniform procedures would make for more responsible conduct of legitimate investigations. Merely procedural reform can accomplish no more than this. Procedures have played a vital role in the protection of the individual from the state's arbitrary exercise of power in the performance of its legal functions. But at the same time that we have established procedural safeguards we have put certain freedoms beyond the legitimate concern of the state. Invading these freedoms according to prescribed procedures does not alter the fact that they have been invaded.

Much of the injustice to individuals results from the trial-like aspects of committee behavior. The committee acts as both prosecutor and judge and finds the accused guilty of holding beliefs which are anathema. A long line of "convictions" with "punishment" meted out by employers and neighbors has helped to develop the technique into a political formula whose success is almost without parallel. The hatchet is sharp and the heads roll. And as long as the bemused spectators continue to reward the hatchet men the spectacle will go on, for Congressmen cannot cease to act like Congressmen.

SINCE Congressional committees have assumed some judicial functions, what likelihood is there of Supreme Court restraint? The court's position is not entirely clear, although perhaps clarification will come with the decision in the *Emspak* case, which was discussed in *The Nation* of October 31, 1953.



The court has so far made two major pronouncements on the Congressional power of investigation. In the first of these, *Kilbourn v. Thompson* (1880), it asserted its own right to a substantial degree of control over Congressional inquiries and ruled for the only time that a particular inquiry was improper. The decision explicitly stated that neither the Senate nor the House "possesses the general power of making inquiry into the private affairs of the citizen." This opinion has never been repudiated.

The second major ruling came in 1927 in *McGrain v. Daugherty*. Here the court explicitly recognized the power of Congress to conduct inquiries to aid it in legislating but reaffirmed that neither house is "invested with general power to inquire into private affairs and compel disclosures." The opinion added that "a witness rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded or the questions are not pertinent to the matter under inquiry."

The numerous cases stemming from the activities of the House Committee on Un-American activities provided the court with opportunity to apply this doctrine. Unfortunately the cases which raised the most serious constitutional issues have been decided by appeals courts, not by the Supreme Court. The legal doctrine so far established is far from clear-cut; in general the courts have reaffirmed the doctrine that there are limits beyond which Congressional inquiry may not go but have yet to decide—with the exception noted above—that the limits were exceeded in any particular case. Two decisions work to protect witnesses. The Supreme Court has permitted witnesses to invoke

the protection of the Fifth Amendment, and it ruled in 1953 that certain questions put by the Buchanan committee to Edward Rumely exceeded the authorization of the resolution which established the committee.

The *Emspak* case is a crucial one because the Supreme Court has agreed to consider whether the resolution setting up the House Un-American Activities Committee violated the First Amendment and whether "the First Amendment protects a witness against compulsory disclosure . . . of his political views and affiliations." It will be the first time the Supreme Court has passed on these basic constitutional questions.

A favorable decision in this case should give the cause of individual liberty a tremendous boost by providing a rallying point for the forces of the democratic tradition in America. Its significance would be political rather than legal. We cannot expect the Supreme Court to restrict Congressional investigations very closely. There will always be plenty of leeway for invasions of the freedom of individuals. The court is and should be extremely reluctant to interfere with Congress in the pursuit of its proper functions. No court can protect our liberties for us; that is a job we must do for ourselves. Judge Clark, in urging the Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit to apply some restraints to the House committee, nevertheless recognized that "the force of public opinion and the expression of the electorate at the polls must remain its main source of control."

Our preoccupation with procedural reforms and court decisions, our reliance upon institutions to protect freedom indicate a lack of understanding of our own ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of the freedoms we cherish. Individual freedom is a viable thing only when it is deeply rooted in the hearts of men. Or, as Judge Learned Hand put it:

What do we mean when we say that first of all we seek liberty? I often wonder whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws, and upon courts. These are false hopes; believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. While it lies there it needs no constitution, no law, no court to save it.

THE MAN BEHIND MCCARTHY

Coleman of Wisconsin . . . by Alfred Bowman

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

RECENTLY Frederic W. Collins, Washington correspondent of the *Providence Journal*, wrote that whatever else Senator McCarthy may be, he is Tom Coleman's Senator. A word from Coleman, Madison industrialist and unchallenged boss of Wisconsin's Republican Party, could have ended McCarthy's senatorial career in 1952.

The Wisconsin Republican organization is in the pocket of this soft-spoken, handsome, white-haired man who was Taft's manager at the 1952 Republican convention in Chicago. To say that by the same token McCarthy is also in Coleman's pocket would be stretching a point. But the fact is that McCarthy, despite his very large personal following, has no political machine of his own and has enjoyed the support of the Wisconsin organization only because Coleman is its head. It is not a situation which the Senator, according to his friends, looks upon with complacency; he would much rather be at the wheel himself, dependent on no one.

So far the two men have been able to accommodate themselves to each other, although there was some trouble in the Presidential primary campaign of 1952 when Coleman was making his first bid for the big time and McCarthy played hard to get. McCarthy's demand that Taft come out with an unqualified indorsement of McCarthyism drew some very audible grumbling from the Coleman people in Wisconsin, where Taft faced a difficult delegate contest, and it was suggested that McCarthy, who had been picked out of obscurity and elevated to the Senate by Coleman, was something of an ingrate. But McCarthy held fast, and Taft came through handsomely for the Wisconsin Senator.

Today McCarthy has every assurance that he can continue in his present ways, including his attacks on the Eisen-



Thomas E. Coleman

hower foreign policy, without risking trouble back home. Coleman is convinced that McCarthyism and isolationism are the formula for Republican success.

In the fight on the Bricker amendment Coleman threw the Wisconsin Republican machine against the President. The state convention in June, 1953, made national news when it passed a resolution denouncing the state's senior Senator, Alexander Wiley, after he had asked the convention to support the President. A word from Coleman could have stopped the resolution cold. The Alsop brothers reported that "the Wisconsin boss who gave Senator McCarthy to the world, the slick Tom Coleman, is reputed to have said that the Bricker amendment is the one all-important issue today."

Coleman was not always so isolationist. In 1948 he carried the state for Stassen against MacArthur in the Presidential primary, though MacArthur not only satisfied Wisconsin's traditional adherence to isolationism but was a "native son." The enthusiasm of Coleman's party workers for Stassen's heretical internationalist views was convincing testimony of the boss's power. In fact, the whole campaign was a demonstration of how rough this mild-mannered man can be when faced with

a serious challenge to his leadership.

He felt no awe of MacArthur's hero status. In papers that take their cue from Coleman the general was pictured as the man on horseback, like Hitler or Mussolini. McCarthy, who had gone on the Stassen slate put together by Coleman, attacked MacArthur as a superannuated brass hat and as a divorced man so lacking in allegiance to Wisconsin that he got his divorce elsewhere. Some of the tactics McCarthy used later in the Maryland campaign against Tydings were learned in the Coleman school back in Wisconsin. Whenever Coleman defends McCarthy's record today he does it with the air of the master talking about an apt pupil.

According to some of those who know Coleman well, his present isolationist views are largely the result of his bitterness against the party internationalists—Dewey, Brownell, and company—who beat him so badly when he was Taft's floor manager in the 1952 convention.

Robert C. Albright reported in the *Washington Post* last fall that Warren Stephenson, the Washington attorney who admitted that he attempted to peddle classified naval information to a California manufacturer for a 4 per cent commission on government contracts, got his boost in politics from Coleman. Albright said also that Stephenson became executive secretary of the Eisenhower inaugural ceremonies because of Coleman's alleged backing.

COLEMAN is never happier than when he can draw a bead on the name La Follette. He has said repeatedly that the greatest night in his life was that one in 1946 when the primary returns brought the news that McCarthy had defeated Bob La Follette for the Republican senatorial nomination, destroying the last vestige of the La Follette regime. Many who have pondered Coleman's career believe he entered politics originally because of his com-

ALFRED BOWMAN is the pseudonym of a Wisconsin newspaperman.

pulsive desire to drive the La Follettes out of public life. He tells two stories of childhood experiences involving the La Follettes. His father, he says, once described the elder La Follette to him as the "biggest hypocrite alive today," and he has never forgotten his father's words. He also seems impelled to recall the time that he and other children built a winter slide on a Madison hill and the La Follette boys, Phil and Bob, who had not helped to make the slide, came along and used it. He caps this story off with the comment, "They lived off some other person's work all their lives."

He went into the 1948 and 1952 Presidential primaries with added zest because he had a La Follette to shoot at. Former Governor Phil La Follette, trying hard for a come-back, was prominent in the MacArthur campaign and four years later sought to be a delegate-at-large for Governor Warren. Coleman blocked him both times. Phil switched from the isolationist cause in 1948 to the internationalist side in 1952, while Coleman did the reverse, backing first Stassen and then Taft. Exploiting Republican fear of the La Follettes in both campaigns, he warned in '48 that a vote for MacArthur was a vote to restore the "La Follette dynasty" and in '52 that a vote for Warren would do the same. It worked both times.

He is an uninspiring if not a downright boring speaker and ordinarily does not take the stump. He made an exception in the campaign against Bob La Follette in 1946 and toured the state rallying the party faithful behind McCarthy. He denounced La Follette's interest in a Milwaukee radio station and charged that the Senator had used his office to influence the Federal Communications Commission in its favor.

In a series of advertisements in state papers he blasted La Follette's financial standing under the heading, "How Did La Follettes Get That Money?" The "money" was \$47,000 (before deductions for taxes) that La Follette and his wife made from the radio station in a two-year period. He has never shown any similar curiosity about the tangled financial affairs of McCarthy. In a personal letter he sent out during the campaign he compared the service record of McCarthy with that of La Follette, who was in the Senate during

the war. McCarthy at the same time was advertising himself as a former "tail gunner" and a veteran who had entered the marines as a "buck private." Coleman has never shown the slightest interest in the falsity of these claims.

HIS SUAVE, gentle manner belies his deep capacity for hate. The *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Madison Capital Times* are two prime objects of his hatred because they have helped to weaken his influence and organization in the state's two most populous counties. The six delegates he lost to Governor Warren in the 1952 Presidential primary were lost in Milwaukee and Dane counties, the latter being his home county.

People in his own party who have crossed him have learned of his capacity for bearing a grudge. In 1946 he made a bold move to defeat the late Governor Walter Goodland because the popular and independent old Governor had blocked his attempt to fence Senator La Follette out of the Republican Party. A servile legislature passed the Coleman fence bill, but Goodland vetoed it as "unwarranted and indefensible in a democracy." In June of 1945 Coleman read Goodland out of the party in an address to the Republican legislative caucus. He insisted that the party should indorse candidates at the state conventions and that if the machine won the elections it should run the government. "If I find that idea at variance with the attitude of the Republican organization," he warned, "I will detach myself from the organization and cooperate with a group of Republican citizens who are interested in such a proceeding." The party later wrote into its constitution a provision making indorsements compulsory, and Coleman kept his marbles in the game.

In the 1946 convention he was successful in obtaining convention indorsement for a candidate against Goodland. However, a La Follette Progressive, Ralph Immell, entered the primary to make a three-way split between himself, Goodland, and Coleman's candidate. Faced with the possibility of a La Follette man winning the primary, Coleman swallowed his dislike of Goodland and threw machine support to the Governor. It was a remarkable demonstration of his control over the party. Goodland won the nomination. The

original Coleman candidate hardly knew he was in the race. There are some who say that Coleman switched to Goodland after he realized that the candidates he was offering for Governor and Senator were both Catholic and that the slate was fatally defective therefore in predominantly Protestant Wisconsin. Coleman himself is a Catholic.

Coleman appears jealous of other Republicans who rise to prominence in the state. With the exception of McCarthy, whose success he views as indispensable to his own entrance on to the national political stage, he has broken with almost every major figure in the party in recent years. He quarreled with the late Governor Julius P. Heil and campaigned openly against him in 1942, helping to defeat him. He broke, as has been noted, with Goodland. In 1950 he opposed former Governor Oscar Rennebohm, who was retiring and wanted to choose his successor. Coleman fought him at the convention and obtained its indorsement for the present Governor, Walter Kohler, over Rennebohm's candidate. Kohler and Coleman split in 1952 during the Eisenhower-Taft fight, and it is believed that Coleman has not forgiven the man he made Governor. John Wyngaard, a Wisconsin newspaperman who is close to McCarthy and Coleman, recently reported that the Boss may oppose Kohler if he seeks a third term.

In 1951 he decided to dispense with the services of Cyrus Phillip, popular Republican national committeeman. Observers thought the Boss had overextended himself in this move, particularly since William E. Campbell, one of the founders of the present Republican organization in the state, publicly



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

March 20, 1954

blasted "Tom Coleman's bossism," but the convention of that year obediently picked Coleman's man, Henry Ringling, to succeed Phillip.

He holds the state's senior Senator, Alexander Wiley, in low esteem and is said to have promised Wiley's seat to Governor Kohler when the latter was considering entering the primary against McCarthy in 1952. The story is that he painted a rosy picture of Kohler's future jump from Wiley's seat in the Senate to the White House. Kohler abandoned his talk of running against McCarthy and announced for reelection. Coleman later told newsmen that "all the little blocks are falling into place."

Coleman was elected party chairman in 1943 and served several terms, working overtime to build up the smooth running organization he now controls. After retiring as chairman he held on to the purse strings of the party as chairman of the finance committee. At present he holds no official position, but his decisions are still law. His insistence that he is out of politics is a standing joke among newsmen in Wisconsin and Washington. Even so loyal a friend as Wyngaard recently wrote that he "is a frequent caller at Republican state headquarters and maintains a close liaison with the Washington national headquarters of the party. His relations with

Ringling [national committeeman] and Jack Rouse, executive secretary of the Madison headquarters, are extremely close. His prestige among party workers and party contributors is enormous."

He is an able, well-to-do business man, operating a Madison industry which he and his brother inherited. He has successfully withstood a number of attempts to organize his plant.

He is sensitive to criticism and quick to complain about what he regards as misrepresentation of his political activities, though he likes to put on the brass knuckles when going after the opposition. It is perhaps this sensitiveness which has been responsible for his failure to submit his own name as a candidate. He says that organization men should never run for public office.

THE BOSS rarely discusses his political philosophy or political issues. He prefers to discuss personalities. But he inadvertently gave the public a glimpse of his philosophy when he released the text of his address at the 1946 convention containing the sentence: "They [the voters] cannot know as we know who might be the men that can best represent our party as candidates and who can best serve as our public officials." As he delivered the address, he carefully omitted this statement, but

it has been widely used both in and out of the party to illustrate his thinking.

Coleman is not a boss in the sense that Kelly, Hague, and Pendergast were. Patronage is not an important ingredient of his power, though jobs in Wisconsin government seldom go to anyone without the right recommendation. His success is based primarily on his ability to raise money from the big industrialists. He uses the money judiciously to build the organization and to elect his candidates. He never neglects the organization. He learned that to drive the La Follettes out of public life he had to work at politics 365 days of the year with painstaking attention to detail. Because the La Follettes neglected their organization, Coleman was able to smash them. He does not intend that anyone shall smash him because of similar neglect on his part.

He has taken his stand for McCarthyism and has raised it as the standard of the party in Wisconsin by booting through resounding indorsements of McCarthy at every annual convention. To newsmen who asked him about McCarthy's charges in May of 1950, he said, "Every name mentioned will eventually be proved guilty." This is a prophesy to which time has done considerable damage, but the Boss still stands by his protégé.

GROWING PRESSURES

For East-West Trade . . . by David Wightman

London
NOT since the days of the much talked-about International Economic Conference at Moscow in April, 1951, has the European press given such prominence as in recent months to the problem of developing East-West trade across Europe. At no other time since the end of the war has the prospect looked brighter. Significantly, the Russians have requested that the question be put upon

DAVID WIGHTMAN, lecturer at the University of Birmingham, has written extensively on East-West trade problems.

the agenda of the Economic and Social Council of the U. N. which meets in New York at the end of this month.

During the latter part of last year acute observers detected a number of signs that the Russians were about to embark on a new trade offensive. Some felt, however, that Western Europe had very little chance of doing business in a big way, if only because the Russians had not the means to finance a substantial increase in imports. In Britain this belief was largely based on the fact that Russian grain exports to this country were almost negligible last year. But

despite the drop in grain, British imports from the Soviet Union in 1953 amounted to £40,000,000 compared with a combined total of £12,300,000 for British exports and re-exports to the Soviet Union. To make up for the heavy fall in their grain exports the Russians were selling, in addition to timber and iron ore, precious metals such as silver, manganese, platinum, and iridium. It was a measure of the seriousness of their trade drive that they were selling goods which by any definition in the West must be considered "strategic"; and when, finally, they sold £30,000,000

worth of gold to Britain, there could be no doubt of their ability to finance a buying program on a big scale. It is, indeed, profoundly ironic that, momentarily at least, the Soviet Union should have become one of Britain's most important sources of hard currency.

DESPITE the clear evidence of Russia's desire for more trade with the West, the announcement by Mr. Kabanov, the Soviet Foreign Trade Minister, that Russia was prepared to place orders exceeding £400,000,000 in Britain over the next three years came as a complete surprise. At the time of writing, contracts worth £16,000,000 have already been placed with British firms, and negotiations over another £48,000,000 are continuing. The Russians have been particularly eager to buy ships (trawlers, tankers, tugs, and whalers), power-plant equipment, machine tools, and machinery for manufacturing consumers' goods. Some of the orders at present under discussion will, very probably, fail to get official sanction. In fact, most members of the latest group of British business men to leave for Moscow represent firms manufacturing goods on the list of items embargoed for shipment across the Iron Curtain. Nevertheless, the British Minister of State at the Board of Trade has said that between £175,000,000 and £180,000,000 of the £400,000,000 announced by Mr. Kabanov would be free of strategic controls.

If this volume of orders could be secured by British manufacturers over the next three years—and it will depend to an important extent on their ability to meet the competition of their Continental rivals—the level of Anglo-Soviet trade would be raised enormously. What is opening up before Britain is nothing less than the prospect of a volume of business with the Communist bloc which could begin to amount to a sizable proportion of its total overseas trade. The possibilities have been enhanced by the declared willingness of the Russians to increase their purchases during the next few years above the figure announced by Mr. Kabanov if Britain will increase its imports from the Soviet Union. As it is most unlikely that Britain could continue to increase its purchase of precious metals and gold, this implies a Russian

willingness to make available much larger quantities of grain, cotton, timber, and mineral ores—items which have hitherto involved Western Europe in heavy dollar expenditure.

It is significant that this remarkable change in the outlook for East-West trade has been brought about, not as a result of negotiations between governments, but mainly through the private deals of individual business men. Indeed, the increasing reluctance of manufacturers in Western Europe to accept the passive positions taken by governments or to await official moves for developing East-West trade has to some extent brought the whole issue to a boil. Not that governments have been entirely inactive during the last year or are so at present. The first real sign that the deadlock was at last to be broken occurred at a governmental meeting on trade held under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in April a year ago. As a direct result of these consultations, a number of bilateral trade agreements were signed, those between the Soviet Union and several Western countries, chiefly France, being the most important.

It became clear at this meeting that the Soviet Union was willing to allow its East European satellites also to increase their trade with the West. At the moment, for example, Britain is about to negotiate a new, and probably more ambitious, trade agreement with Poland, and Anglo-Hungarian trade should shortly be resumed. In addition, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Rumania are believed to be anxious to negotiate agreements with Britain. The principal reason for accusing the British government of inactivity last year, and so far this year, is the absence of any trade agreement with the Soviet Union. It is not perhaps surprising, therefore, that British business men appear to have taken matters into their own hands.

Whatever may be the final value of the business secured, it is certain that the West European governments will be under increasingly strong pressure to adopt a more liberal interpretation of the term "strategic exports." The consultative committee of NATO, known for short as COCOM, whose business it is to coordinate the trade policies of member countries, is due to meet soon.

When it does, the United States may well find its European allies making "agonizing reappraisals" of the validity of the present export controls on shipments to Communist countries. The result of COCOM'S deliberations will be known when the special East-West trade consultations being organized by the Economic Commission for Europe take place in Geneva after Easter. It will be very surprising if West European governments do not press for much less stern definitions of strategic goods. It is true that American policy has moved sufficiently far for Mr. Stassen and the Randall commission—with the exception of a few crusading Senators—to welcome more trade across the Iron Curtain in "peaceful goods." But that will not be particularly helpful unless it means a greater readiness to include more products under this head.

The plain fact is that, as regards the scope and nature of the trade to be permitted between West and East, the United States is in a much less strong position to force acceptance of its views on the Europeans than it was a few years ago. While Western Europe was getting dollar aid in great quantity and enjoyed a sellers' market for its leading exports, it had no strong incentive to step up East-West trade and was willing to follow the American lead in building up a comprehensive system of export controls directed against the Communist bloc. But for some time past Europe has received a steadily diminishing amount of dollar aid. This year, for example, the aid fails to bridge the "dollar gap," and the Randall commission has even recommended the rapid termination of what little still comes in.

FURTHERMORE, the course of American foreign economic policy has not made Europe's task of earning dollars directly through exports to the United States or indirectly through trade with third countries any easier. On the contrary, since the Republicans have been in power, protectionist views have gained ground in Congress. For taking these sentiments into account in its findings, the Randall report has been considered a politically realistic document. But that is poor comfort to Europe when it also shows that there can be small hope of the United States pursuing good creditor policies in the near future. A final

factor entering into Europe's revaluation of its economic relations with the United States is the fear that the American economy may slide downhill into a condition which cannot politely be shrugged off as a "readjustment."

Because of the trend of American foreign economic policy in this era of "trade not aid," Europeans will be increasingly compelled to look to their own devices, and more East-West trade is one of them. In the circumstances the United States no longer has a strong claim, let alone a right, to have its views on trade with the Communist bloc accepted. In addition, European manufacturers have been subjected to a number of compelling economic pressures which have made them unwilling to forgo seeking relief through some relaxation of present controls. The sellers' market for their exports has long since disappeared. Competition in their traditional overseas markets has steadily increased, the more so because these areas have had to absorb that part

of the foreign trade of Germany and Japan which was traditionally directed toward countries now members of the Communist bloc. The search for new markets has therefore become urgent and promises to become more, not less, intense in the near future. With this prospect in mind, the British Commonwealth Finance Ministers, in the communiqué issued after their recent conference at Sydney, made a special point of emphasizing the desirability of a greater volume of East-West trade. Finally, the cut-back in American orders placed in Europe for the build-up of NATO has made it necessary for firms which had been working on these orders to find new outlets.

ONE OTHER factor that has contributed to the changing European view of East-West trade is the "new look" worn by Russian foreign policy since the death of Stalin. No one on either side of the Atlantic has yet produced convincing evidence that the export-embargo policy

has been effective in holding up the Communist rearmament effort. The sweeping claims made for it by the Foreign Operations Administration may satisfy some Senators; they leave Europeans who study the Communist planned economies more skeptical than ever. The less aggressive character of Russian policy in Europe has called into question the need for keeping on the embargo list the very wide range of goods now included. Furthermore, now as in the past, the penetration of goods into Iron Curtain countries also means contact, influence, and exchange of ideas. Mr. Stassen appears at last to have recognized the importance this could have for the diplomacy of the West.

The relationship of patron and client postulated by the Battle Act was far from being the best way to win friends and influence people. To try and reassert it now is a sure way to undermine American prestige in Europe and hence the political cohesion of the NATO alliance as a whole.

STUDENTS FOR AMERICA

Campus McCarthyism . . by Paul Breslow

Chicago

"AT LAST our side is infiltrating campuses with an organization to fight such Marxist groups as Students for Democratic Action [student branch of Americans for Democratic Action]." In this way gossip columnist Lee Mortimer saluted Students for America, a nationwide political organization which since October, 1951, has been trying to cultivate McCarthy-style patriotism on American campuses.

According to the forty-eight-page "official handbook" of the group, "Students' Answer to the Marxist Challenge," by Bob Munger, a Californian, the organization originated as the National Collegiate MacArthur Clubs. The stimulus came from "some students" who in the 1949-50 school year had be-

come "concerned about the leftist domination of the student government" at Los Angeles City College. After a two-year struggle by "a campus organization to fight the Communist and Socialist influences," the college was liberated.

The handbook is the official ideological guide and manual of arms for the student warrior against "subversion." Its "statement of principles and aims" was summarized as follows in the *American Student*, a four-page printed monthly edited by Munger which claims to reach 10,000 persons:

WHAT WE'RE FOR

1. The Constitution
2. Religious Freedom
3. Free Enterprise
4. Strong Foreign Policy
5. Economy

WHAT WE'RE AGAINST

1. Socialist Expansion
2. Appeasement

3. Immorality in Government
4. Subversive Elements
5. Waste in Government

The handbook states that "SFA is the only rightist student movement in existence on a nation-wide basis. Almost all left-wing student organizations are merely the tools of groups like the Communist Party or other equally vicious outside adult agencies." For the guidance of members it provides a reprint of the "Nine Basic Tests of a Communist-Stalinist Organization," compiled by the California Senate Un-American Activities Committee, and a list of "subversive" student organizations based on the lists of the Attorney General and various state and federal legislative investigating committees. These are prefaced with the remark:

There is no longer such a thing as a card-carrying Communist. There are many individuals who are not Communists but

PAUL BRESLOW is a student at the University of Chicago.

who are sympathetic to the Communists and are just as dangerous. It's what these people are trying to do that we are against, and a person does not have to call himself a Communist or even be a Communist to be an enemy of our country.

In order to spot conspirators, S. F. A. has a National Security Division maintaining "direct liaison with anti-subversive government agencies and keeping up-to-date information on all leftist student groups and their operations." Local intelligence sections are advised to collect data "on all leftist activity of any nature at their school by any means which may be deemed expedient."

Undertakings suggested by the handbook are the under-cover infiltration of leftist groups and the establishment of a spy system for the discovery of "pink professors." Munger believes most teachers to be loyal, but he says there are a great many "pink professors, who invariably refer to themselves as 'liberal' or 'progressive.'"

It is highly desirable that responsible students in each chapter [he continues] take notes and direct quotations from the lectures of those professors who consistently insert Communist and Socialist propaganda into the classroom. Also, in this connection, a record should be kept of suggested outside readings and the authors of these books. . . . When the information has been compiled, it should be sent to both national headquarters [a post-office box in Hollywood] and the regional vice-director for suggestions or instructions as to the appropriate course of action.

Instructions on the techniques of capturing student governments, screening members, and reporting subversive activity are then presented.

MUCH OF the handbook is a strange concoction of contemporary right-wing political rhetoric. It includes a denial of the fascist label, the suggestion that fascism is socialism, and a short, muddled discussion of "true liberalism." Peter Viereck's favorite phrase turns up in a discussion of "the anti-anti-Communist hysteria."

The National Student Association, largest American student group, has been accused by Munger's *American Student* of being "the most dangerous of all the many left-wing political pressure groups now operating on American campuses." The charges have been answered by the N. S. A. in a statement which

points to the extreme distortions in S. F. A. literature and asserts that the non-Communist character of the N. S. A. has been attested to by the F. B. I. and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Among the publications distributed by S. F. A. are "McCarthyism—The Fight for America," by Senator McCarthy; "Students for Democratic Action—Front for Socialism"; "Away from Freedom" by Orval V. Watts, "a refutation of New Deal economics"; and reprints of a speech by John T. Flynn. Interested persons who write to national headquarters receive a copy of a speech by Senator Karl Mundt in praise of S. F. A. and its "able director," sent of course under the Senator's franking privilege. S. F. A. claims to have printed "as many as 100,000 pieces of literature in a single month. The *American Student* for April, 1953, reported the printing or distribution of 95,105 pieces of literature during the preceding month, including 4,105 reprints of material "supplied by other cooperating agencies." Among these agencies were the Foundation for Economic Education and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

S. F. A. does not reveal the sources of its income, although its treasurer has stated, "Student contributions don't even pay for postage upon literature mailed, and the real support has to come from adults who recognize our need." It flaunts indorsements from General MacArthur, its honorary president, Walter Winchell, John T. Flynn, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Senator Jenner, and the California American Legion, which has voted to instruct its Americanism Commission to "render all possible assistance to this organization."

Last year S. F. A. conducted, through the *American Student*, an intensive smear campaign against students, faculty, and administration of the University of Chicago. Robert Anderson, a student majoring in ethics at the Divinity School, contributed to the sheet's February issue an article entitled "U. of Chicago Springboard for Kremlin's Propaganda." This attacked administration officials, cited such "documentary evidence" of subversion as the student government's appeal for clemency for the Rosenbergs, and concluded with the hope that the Illinois legislature might revoke the university's tax exemption. The article is interesting



for its introduction of a new concept in witch-hunting, which might be called "guilt by appearance." "Nowhere else," Anderson wrote, "have I seen so many people who look and talk like bolshevik stereotypes. Most of the students look as if they have just crawled out of the garrets of some European slum."

It is difficult to assess the extent and effectiveness of Students for America. Officially it has a membership of 2,500 on more than 120 campuses. Its activities have been reported at many universities throughout the country and at a few high schools. The Student Council at the University of Virginia recently refused to grant official recognition to an S. F. A. chapter by unanimous vote, and the *Cavalier Daily*, a student newspaper, described S. F. A. as a "kindergarten Ku Klux Klan" and a "junior-grade imitation of McCarthyism." The University of Wisconsin has an active chapter with more than twenty members. A recent attempt to form an officially recognized chapter at Fordham University failed. The organization appears to have been most successful in California.

The influence of a university group which opposes basic freedoms may be greater than it appears on the surface. Smear tactics tend to intimidate the cautious professor or administrator and to make the student wary of political participation. More than one student liberal organization has concluded that silence or respectable concern with trivia is more sensible than outspoken resistance.

BOOKS

Political Titans

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard University Press. Volumes VII-VIII. \$20.

WOODROW WILSON AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1910-1917. By Arthur S. Link. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

By Charles A. Madison

THE final two volumes of the Roosevelt letters, completing a major contribution to American historical scholarship, deal with the variegated activities of the Colonel's last decade of life. Fully and accurately annotated to provide the necessary background, these letters describe his much-publicized safari in Africa, his royal welcome in Europe, his disappointment in President Taft, his uneasy flirtation with a third term, his zestful campaigning at Armageddon, his gradual desertion of the Progressives, and his final hysterical espousal of a chauvinistic patriotism.

Roosevelt reveals himself in these letters as an astute politician, a dynamic egotist, a fundamental moralist, a most devoted pater familias, as impulsive in his generosity as he is in his prejudices: in sum, a genuine democrat with an overpowering sense of right and an irrepressible ambition. A demonic leader, he was unable to resist the lure of the political limelight. In the shadow of his retirement he considered Taft's conservatism as a betrayal of trust. In anger he wrote of him: "He is a flubdub with a streak of the second-rate and the common in him, and he has not the slightest idea of what is necessary if this country is to make social and industrial progress." As a matter of fact, he felt that he alone knew how to lead the nation to the desired goal and that it was his duty to do so. Yet he realized that to make a bid for a third term was to risk his already

CHARLES A. MADISON, author of *"Critics and Crusaders"* and *"American Labor Leaders,"* is completing a book on twentieth-century liberalism entitled *"Dynamic Democracy."*

distinguished place in American history. To Judge Ben Lindsey he wrote late in 1911: "I very emphatically feel that to me personally to be nominated in 1912 would be a calamity."

The impulse to leadership continued to agitate his vanity. For months he behaved with a restrained coyness. "I am not and shall not be a candidate." Yet he refused to indorse Senator La Follette, the choice of most insurgent Republicans. Observing the rising tide of progressivism with a palpitating heart, he soon persuaded himself that La Follette had not "the confidence of the people," that he was "half zealot and half self-seeking demagogue." The urging of his admirers plus the prospect of success satisfied him that the demand for his leadership was "a perfectly spontaneous and genuinely popular movement." This rationalization enabled him to announce his candidacy and to declare with complete sincerity that he was "in this fight purely for a principle, win or lose."

He fought gallantly against strong odds—and lost. Defeat soured him. He came to despise the "lunatic fringe" of the Progressive Party—the insurgents who did not see eye to eye with him. Because La Follette did not submit to his leadership, Roosevelt referred to him as "that vindictive and unscrupulous faker." In truth he had had enough of insurgency and wished he were back in the solid stronghold of a victorious Republican Party—with himself as its rightful head. All the while he followed the activities of the Wilson Administration with an irascibility that bordered on the irrational. "In international affairs," he wrote, "Wilson is almost as much of a prize jackass as Bryan." And several months later he confided to Senator Lodge that he considered the Wilson Administration "the very worst and most disgraceful we have ever known."

Roosevelt was outraged by the German invasion of Belgium in 1914 and thought it cowardly of President Wilson not to take official action against this brutal aggression. He was also irritated by the nation's acceptance of neutrality

and insisted that "to be neutral between right and wrong is to serve wrong." The pacifism of many progressives particularly disgusted him. Indeed, the more he felt at odds with the peaceful yearnings of the nation at large the more he execrated those who sought to keep the United States out of the war. In June, 1916, he wrote to General Pershing: "Just at present the American people are passing through a yellow streak, and their leaders have sedulously done everything in their power to broaden the yellow streak."

Once our entrance into the European war appeared manifest, Roosevelt became bent on raising and leading a division of men into battle. Refusal broke his heart. He felt himself "superfluous," "an elderly male Cassandra has-been." But if he was not permitted to wield a sword, he continued to use his bellicose pen with feverish zeal—denouncing pacifists and radicals and demanding a peace "dictated . . . by the hammering guns."

PROFESSOR LINK has given us a scholarly account of President Wilson's first term. He has dug deep into the vast storehouse of source materials and has made excellent use of his findings. Throughout the book his discussion of the factors influencing complex political events rings with the persuasiveness of authority. Moreover, thorough familiarity with the documents at issue as well as with the letters, diaries, and other writings of the leading men of the period, enables him to throw fresh light on the origins and purposes of every important political achievement of the first Wilson Administration. If in his effort at complete objectivity he has on occasion tended to be less than fair to Wilson, he has at all times permitted the facts to speak for themselves.

Woodrow Wilson is here depicted as the adroit intellectual, the idealist in the grip of overweening ambition, the convinced pacifist driven by the logic of events to the abyss of war. From the day he entered the political arena in 1910 till the end of his first term as President he is delineated as the strange anomaly of a pedagogue-politician who outsmarts shrewd bosses, pragmatically assumes the beguiling liberalism of the day, again and again breaks promises and changes his mind, and at the end of his

first term achieves a remarkable record of progressive legislation.

Professor Link points out that Wilson's liberalism in 1913 was still passive and equivocal; that up to 1916 "the President either obstructed or refused to encourage the fulfilment of a large part of the progressive platform." In that year, however, his eagerness to continue in office made him anxious to lure the progressives into the Democratic fold. To this end he "became almost a new political creature, and under his leader-

ship a Democratic Congress enacted the most sweeping and significant progressive legislation in the history of the country up to that time." Although this conclusion is based on a solid factual foundation, each reader of the book will have to decide for himself as to its inherent validity.

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were political titans, powerful and positive despite their imperfections, and the books under review add measurably to our knowledge of them.

Adventures in the O. S. S.

THE SCARLET THREAD. Adventures in Wartime Espionage. By Donald Downes. British Book Center. \$3.50.

By H. H. Wilson

READ either as pure adventure story or for political education, this is a fascinating book. Mr. Downes, a Cape Cod school teacher, worked for British Intelligence and then for the American Office of Strategic Services from 1940 to 1945. He was engaged chiefly in establishing subversive movements in enemy territory, but he has some pithy observations on men and movements in the United States. When the public is being bamboozled by Senators and Representatives who pretend to be searching out subversion, it is invaluable for the layman to learn something of the nature of genuine intelligence and counter-espionage operations.

There is also utility in the reminder that our support of anti-democratic regimes did not need the excuse of building an alliance against Soviet imperialism. State Department personnel demonstrated an early affinity for reaction, and Mr. Downes is convinced that betrayal of those who worked with us against the Nazis and our failure to support the European non-Communist left undermined the possibility of a real post-war democratic movement. We short-changed the Italian partisans, tolerated the Communists because they had Russian support, and, says Downes, per-

H. H. WILSON, a contributing editor of *The Nation*, is professor of political science at Princeton and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

mitted the democratic non-Communist parties to wither. Through Lauchlin Currie, whom he defends against Congressional smearing, Downes tried to get reports to President Roosevelt that would counteract the official British line on Greece and Italy. He believes that Harry Hopkins diverted these reports and that the President never saw them. "Every report I wrote to the White House ended with a warning that if we did not take the side of democracy and reform, we should have to contend with a large Communist Party in the period after the war."

Unlike some observers who have been disturbed by Allen Dulles's connections with German financial and industrial cartels, Downes considers his work with O. S. S. brilliant, and for William J. Donovan he has highest praise. "I do not think that there was another American in 1941 capable of creating a functioning secret-intelligence organization overnight. His raw materials were thousands of enthusiastic amateurs. Maybe 75 per cent of the effort was fruitless. To my knowledge there were projects in the remaining 25 per cent which contributed enormously to winning and shortening the war, to saving many thousands of Allied lives. . . . Nothing was too fantastic for Donovan if you could convince him that it had a chance of success or that it would harm the enemy."

With the persistent glorification of J. Edgar Hoover it is sobering to read that both British Intelligence and O. S. S. "were constantly being hounded by the F. B. I." That organization, "with its police mentality, was jealous. While we were organizing our projects,

there was always the danger of the knife in the back from the F. B. I." People willing to risk their lives and undergo Gestapo tortures in the service of the Allies were constantly subject to F. B. I. sniping. "Baseless and indiscriminate charges of communism and disloyalty were brought against them." In the light of its subsequent coddling of police spies and professional perjurers, it is interesting that the F. B. I. should have treated those who were operating against the Nazis as "so many stool-pigeons [and] inferior people."

When the F. B. I. deliberately broke up an O. S. S. operation that had successfully looted foreign embassies in Washington, Downes asked the O. S. S. political adviser if President Roosevelt would not do something "about such near treason." He received an answer which is still pertinent: "No, he won't. No President dare touch John Edgar Hoover. . . ."

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New Books in Brief

South Africa's Tragic Doom

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Sarah Gertrude Millin. Knopf. \$4.50.

Mrs. Millin, doyenne of the remarkable group of South African novelists, has in the past dealt powerfully with the racial problems and tragedies of her country in such stories as "God's Stepchildren" and "The Coming of the Lord." Both her style, strongly influenced by the Old Testament, and her habits of thought are better suited to fiction than to factual description. This new work, actually a massive revision of a book originally published in 1926—an impressionistic survey of the history and present problems of South Africa—is poorly organized and over-rhetorical. It offers relatively little light to the seeker for information who has not previously acquired sufficient background to fill in the author's many gaps. For instance, the reasons why the policies of white supremacy pursued by successive South African governments are creating an economic impasse are hinted at by Mrs. Millin but never made crystal clear, as they are in "The Choice Before South Africa" by E. S. Sachs. Her thinking is also fuzzy on biological matters, and she is inclined to assign genetic causes to what are clearly environmental consequences.

With regard to the future of South Africa Mrs. Millin writes as one in despair. She realizes that the white minority tyrannizes over the black and brown majority but sees no way of combining justice for the many with security for the few. "South Africa," she writes, "faces a question beyond solution, that is all." Neither intelligence nor goodwill, she implies, can avert the tragic doom that the gods have prepared.

The "Falsehood of the Stage"

THE MAIDS AND DEATHWATCH. Two Plays by Jean Genet. Translated from the French by Bernard Frechtman. With an Introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre. Grove. \$4.75.

Two one-act shockers by a man who, according to the jacket, was sentenced in 1943 to life imprisonment as a habitual criminal, was pardoned at the request

of various literary lights, and is now "regarded by many critics as the greatest French writer of his generation." The first play deals with two insane servant maids who plan to murder their mistress "for kicks" but who settle, when the scheme fails, for a queer sort of suicide in which one allows herself to be murdered by the other. The second is about the rivalry of two jailbirds for the love of their cell mate, a convicted murderer. It also ends with a slaying in the form of an *act gratuite*, but the jacket warns us against missing the fact that its poetic theme is actually no more "profoundly homosexual" than that of the first play. According to Sartre's admiring preface, one *might* be tempted to explain the peculiarities of Genet's imagination by his "taste for young boys." The profounder explanation is: "He has turned dramatist because the falsehood of the stage is the most manifest and fascinating of all. . . . What appears behind the footlights is not so much a woman as Genet himself living out the impossibility of being a woman."

Green Mountain Air

VERMONT TRADITION. By Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Little, Brown. \$4.50.

"Unshakably we hold these truths to be self-evident: that life is not worth living unless every individual can get air enough to breathe deeply and freely. But nobody can help him do his breathing. It is an intrusion to try." This is the tradition that Mrs. Fisher describes and interprets. She does it in the best manner of that tradition; with homely wisdom, dry humor, and shrewd common sense, although not always with the strict economy of words that is also part of the tradition.

In their early history Vermonters were lucky. The region was virtually empty when the stream of immigration began to flow in from Massachusetts and Connecticut, since the Indians had used it only as a passageway. Hence there was no heritage of strife and hatred. Fish and game abounded, land was cheap, and by cutting down and burning the forests the early settlers both cleared the country and provided themselves an assured income from the sale of potash,

then much in demand. The serpent in this paradise was New York with its boundary claims. To justify the violence with which Vermonters resisted these claims, Mrs. Fisher takes pains to show that the quarrel was essentially between two political philosophies—the democratic and the aristocratic. The Yankees, brought up in the tradition of town-meeting freedom, looked with horror at the miserable tenant farmers across the border, living at the mercy of their feudal landlords.

In the past, the prosperity of Vermont depended successively on potash, merino sheep, Morgan horses, and dairying. Today the economy leans heavily on the tourist, who goes there not only for the scenery but because the Green Mountain air has a special flavor of live-and-let-live—a flavor that grows more precious as it grows less common.

World Trade Unionism

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT: HISTORY, POLICIES, OUTLOOK. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Harper. \$5.

Mr. Lorwin's latest book is essentially a revision and extension of his earlier work on the world labor movement, "Labor and Internationalism" (1929). The first fifteen chapters are a condensed version of the earlier study; thirteen additional chapters bring the story up to date.

In the main it is a depressing story. The international labor movement, the author makes clear, has been particularly susceptible to the tensions of the cold war. The labor world no less than the political world is divided into two hostile blocs, and the struggle between them is hardly less intense than that waged by the major antagonists. But the inevitability of the labor split, which dates to the beginning of the cold war in 1946-47, does not preclude a certain nostalgia for those early post-war years when the World Federation of Trade Unions was, in fact, a world federation, and the prospect of international labor solidarity seemed close at hand. It is a measure of the seven-league-boot years we have traveled that in the fall of 1946 the British trade-union leader Arthur Deakin, who now sees a Communist under every Bevan, was president of the W. F. T. U., and its executive

board included a representative of both the C. I. O. and the U. S. S. R.

Mr. Lorwin, it should be mentioned, is relatively optimistic with regard to the future of the Western trade-union movement organized in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Indeed, he is all for the present alliance between free labor and the West's foreign-policy makers. Unfortunately, he does not explore the present and probable future impact of neutralism on this alliance. A continuing reduction in international tension should see an increase in neutralist sentiment and with it a demand for changes in the pro-American policies of the I. C. F. T. U.

General Anders on Russia

HITLER'S DEFEAT IN RUSSIA. By General Wladyslaw Anders. Regnery. \$4.

General Anders is perhaps the most widely known anti-Communist Pole today. Captured by the Red Army in the Russo-German squeeze play of 1939 and imprisoned in Moscow, he was let out in 1941 to form a Polish army corps. Eventually this force reached Europe and fought with distinction at Monte Cassino. Now in England, Anders is active in various anti-Soviet movements. His current book is a striking tribute to his hatred of the Soviet Union rather than to his comprehension of the science of war and politics. Anders's thesis is simple: the war was not won by Russia but lost by Hitler. Or, if the Wehrmacht without Hitler had been pitted against the Russians without Western aid, the Germans would have won hands down. Anders supports this "iffy" theory with a small stack of books by Hitler's generals, eager to prove the same argument. Much of Anders's book is devoted to a blow-by-blow account of the war in Russia. It is significant that he does it without reference to a single Soviet source. It is true that the Russians have been far less voluble than, say, General Franz Halder, whose diaries Anders quotes generously. Yet one could suggest to him files of *Pravda* and *Krasnaya Zvezda*, or such non-scholarly but informative Soviet authors as Beck, on the battle of Moscow, Kriger on the battle for Kursk, or Grossman on Stalingrad. Why has Anders written this re-hash of German books? The answer seems to

be hinted at in his confident forecast that *in the next war* Russia will not do so well.

Brains in the Welfare State

PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE IN ENGLAND. By Roy Lewis and Angus Maude. Harvard. \$4.

This book contains much interesting information about the development and growth of the professions in response to the demands of an increasingly complex society. Unfortunately, Mr. Lewis, a journalist, and Mr. Maude, economist and Tory member of Parliament, have mustered their facts in a thoroughly tendentious manner. Their pages are suffused with a spirit of nostalgic snobbery, and their many silly gibes at the welfare state can only be described as social philistinism. In fact, their book must be considered camouflaged propaganda designed to discourage middle-class support of the Labor Party.

Nationalized industry, Messrs. Lewis and Maude assert, without producing much evidence, leads to professional frustration, loss of status, and diminished opportunity. In another sweeping generalization they suggest that their country has too few brains to furnish the vastly expanded professional services demanded by the welfare state: hence these services must either be restricted or their quality reduced by dilution of the professions concerned. This pessimism appears quite unjustified in a country that only recently has begun to mobilize its brain-power by ending the monopoly of higher education by the children of the well-to-do.

Experiment with Mescaline

THE DOORS OF PERCEPTION. By Aldous Huxley. Harper. \$1.50.

Participating in a formal experiment, Mr. Huxley took Mescaline, the synthetic compound identical with the active principle of the peyote cactus used by various American Indian tribes in their religious ceremonies. Like previous experimenters he found that it induced a state of contemplation in which the external world seemed to be seen for the first time in all its beauty and the observer reached a state apparently identical with that of the mystic who feels that he has penetrated into the heart of reality. This seventy-nine-page essay

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describes what he saw and thought and makes the experiment the point of departure for a general discussion of the mystic experience and the possible justification for inducing it artificially. Why, he asks, should a society which recognizes alcoholic stimulation as inevitable recoil with horror from a "drug" which produces far more desirable effects and seems to have no undesirable consequences? The fact that it is closely related to a substance naturally produced in the body makes it in one sense "natural," and to the objection that only the "normal" functioning of the mind can possibly establish contact with reality he replies by citing the theory of the Cambridge philosopher C. D. Broad, who has suggested that the function of the brain may not be to establish contact with all reality but rather to filter out from total awareness only those aspects of it which the evolving animal found, in its long past, immediately useful to survival. "The Doors of Perception" might well serve to introduce the typical modern pragmatist to the logical premises of the mystic.

But Always a Poet

UNDERCLIFF. By Richard Eberhart. Oxford. \$4.

Eberhart's new collection testifies to his steady growth as a poet who has his own way with things. Sometimes that manner produces the most appalling

clusters of verbiage. Who but Eberhart could be capable of blandly describing "Madge the sinister, who raged through husbands three," as "sommel Grodeckian." Somdel forsooth! Yet he can write such a poem as *The Cancer Cells*, seeing them through the microscope as "a virulent laughing gang . . . originals of imagination," and conclude of them in a magnificent summary:

I think Leonardo would have in his disinterest
Enjoyed them precisely with a sharp pencil.

Which is to say that Eberhart is not only one of the best of the poets now writing but certainly one of the most outrageous at times, an innocence that really makes new where it succeeds, and a mannerism that shatters completely where it fails.

But always a poet. Things burst upon him. And if they sometimes burst past him and escape into crazy word jumbles, the impulse is always true. What Eberhart is seeking is, clearly, to burst the form, to let the experience in directly. He tends to be at his least when he is dealing with internal impressions, as in *What If Remembrance and Sometimes the Longing for Death*. He is at his best, and an overwhelming best it is, when he bases the poem on observation, lavishing the fact with love. *Fragments of New York* and *Legend of Viable Women* are fine successes. *The Cancer Cells* is a miracle.

music—I have yet to meet a dramatic critic at a concert!—and almost none of them, it appears, care for painting or sculpture.

Jeanmaire is delightfully disturbing, adorably exciting, with a body which is fascinatingly female though its lines are distinctly not those admired in Hollywood. One might speak of her witty, profoundly knowing eyes—brilliant with the crackling wisdom of Parisian streets—eyes set in a head that is a sort of epigram of twentieth-century feminine charm. But all this—even if it were better said—and the considerable technical accomplishment which Jeanmaire's dancing represents hardly explain why Jeanmaire is so alluring and endearing on the stage. Some may think her too slight or too much like the kind of young boy the French refer to as an *éphèbe*—although for all her leanness there is nothing unhealthy in the effect she creates—but the essence of Jeanmaire's hold on the audience is what for want of a more accurate phrase I should call the *rhythm of talent*.

Jeanmaire seems like the embodiment of that mysterious beat or quickening impulse which wherever we find it transforms matter into meaning, acts as a leaven in the inert substance of which most objects are composed. When Jeanmaire rises on her toes, as soon as she begins to move, even to the turn of her head, our breast is constricted with anticipation, our attention is focused, we become alert, concentrated, we begin to seek—we come alive.

How sad that this animating charge of vitality should be entombed in such a mountain of rubbish as the present show. Despite the collaboration of a number of capable actors and designers and the assistance of the ever-gifted Agnes de Mille, one is almost tempted to skip the entire event. Of course, there is nothing so usual as bad entertainment, and a less than mediocre evening in the theater is no cause for alarm, but one is always uncertain whether it wouldn't be better to pass over such occasions in discreet silence to avoid all further discomfort. That is what I feel obliged to do from time to time—is criticism actually in order simply because a mistake has been publicly made?—but how can one pass Jeanmaire by without recording the gasp of one's rapture.

Theater

Harold Clurman

SEVERAL seasons ago when the Ballets de Paris made their American debut, the orthodox dance reviewers were distinctly snooty about the remarkable "Carmen" presented by that company—despite the presence on the stage of one of the most dazzling stage personalities of our day as well as a stage design which was a masterpiece. "Carmen" was apparently not "true dance." Those dramatic critics who attended the occasion seemed equally unimpressed, despite or because of the fact that it was real theater.

Now that Renée (or "Zizi") Jean-

maire—the outstanding discovery of the Ballets de Paris—is appearing in a singularly inept musical comedy, "The Girl in Pink Tights" (Mark Hellinger Theater), professional theatergoers are hailing her as the toast of the town. Well, better late than never. Only I could not help regretting as I watched "Pink Tights" that regular theatergoers seem to attend the ballet so infrequently—though ballet is nearly always the best theater to be seen in New York.

For that matter, I mused, it is a pity that so few habitual theatergoers care for

Records

B. H. Haggin

VIRGIL THOMSON'S objections to Cyril Ritchard's direction of the Metropolitan's new "Barber of Seville" as "a rowdy English farce rather than as *commedia dell'arte*" sounded convincing when I read them, but turned out not to apply to the performance I attended. For one thing Thomson had found that only Fernando Corena, as Dr. Bartolo, "clowns in the grand Italian manner," whereas "the others flounce about naturalistically," and Cesare Siepi in particular, "as the music teacher, climbs over furniture"; and he had thought it less effective to have "Dr. Bartolo and Don Basilio . . . played for an identical buffo effect instead of for contrast . . . of the one as an ebullient comic and the other as a sad, even sinister comic." But I found that the two *were* contrasted in this way by costumes, make-ups, and movements—in particular Siepi's sinisterly sinuous movements of his hands, which in the crescendo of *La Calumnia* extended themselves into sinuous movements of his body, including, at the climax, a gigantic movement over his chair. And in general the action contrived by Mr. Ritchard didn't seem to me to be excessive and out of character in this comedy, in the way the clowning had been that Alfred Lunt introduced during some of the most tender and poignant music of "Cosi Fan Tutte," with Thomson's enthusiastic approval.

Not that there weren't things wrong in the "Barber" performance, and that Thomson didn't describe them accurately: "Merrill is never still. Miss Peters is saucy like a night-club sou-brette." But these excesses, it seemed to me, were not imposed on Merrill and Miss Peters by Mr. Ritchard's direction; they were rather imposed on his direction by Merrill's and Miss Peters's one objective in the performance—of putting themselves over to the audience with a bang. For this they used not only their acting but their singing: Merrill hurled at the audience big sounds that were made unpleasant by the hoarseness his voice has exhibited this year; and Miss Peters, who has

acquired a secure technique that enables her, as Thomson put it, to "rip out scales like a keyed instrument," used this ability in a relentless socking of the audience between the eyes that froze one's blood.

But there were more things that were right, and a couple that were wonderful. In addition to the acting and singing of Siepi as Don Basilio and Corena as Dr. Bartolo there was Cesare Valetti's singing as Count Almaviva, with a beauty of tone and phrasing that made one think of Schipa. And the sensitive, finished playing of the orchestra under Erede—though I would have liked to hear more sharpness of accent and contour, and less patient waiting for Miss Peters to complete her exhibitionistic interpolations. But the glory of the performance was Eugene Berman's scenery and costumes—above all the first-act house-front which, as the curtain rose, took one's breath away with the beauty of its design and color, the audacious fantasy of its ornaments of luminous fans matching the fans on the false proscenium. With a good Rosina and Figaro this would be one of the Metropolitan's most distinguished productions.

All three of Schubert's major string quartets—"Death and the Maiden," Op. 29, and the less frequently played but not less beautiful Op. 161—have been recorded by the Budapest Quartet for Columbia. Again the recording was done in the Library of Congress auditorium, evidently with more skill in overcoming its acoustical defects than in the recording of Beethoven; and the dry, hard, lusterless, and edged sound of "Death and the Maiden" and Op. 29 may be the fault not of the auditorium's acoustics but of recording technique, since the sound of Op. 161 has more fullness and warmth, with more luster and sweetness in the violins. The playing—which is to say the integration of sensitively inflected strands of tone—is of course wonderfully beautiful; but I must confess being struck a few times by what had the effect, for me, of fussing with tempo—e.g.,

the retardations in the opening statements of the Andante movement of Op. 161; the changes of pace at the beginning of "Death and the Maiden," especially the sudden slowing down at measure 25.

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March 20, 1954

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Letters

Cat and Mouse

Dear Sirs: Commendation for that witty composite photo-cartoon on the cover of your March 6 issue. To me that possessive finger, that complacent smirk, that frown on the face of the victim suggest a cat playing with a mouse. It sums up completely the United States situation of today.

HARRIET W. PATTERSON

Rochester, N. Y.

Lesson for Americans

Dear Sirs: The English *Sunday Pictorial* points out the arrant hypocrisy involved in the campaign of evangelist Billy Graham to convert London and suggests that he carry his message to the United States Air Base at Burtonwood. "Some of the G. I.'s need redemption almost as much as we do. At Burtonwood you can preach to some of the men who have helped to land Britain with many hundreds of illegitimate babies. . . . For good measure you can take in the chicken-witted teen-aged British girls who hang round the place."

Great Britain is not the only sufferer in this way from United States occupation. From France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, the same protest is heard. A reasonable suggestion is that the G. I.'s be instructed in birth-control technique. It should not be said that the American military command is concerned only with its own efficiency and is indifferent to its decent obligations toward the peoples who are its hosts.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Chicago, Ill.

Welcome Clarity

Dear Sirs: Carey McWilliams's article in the March 6 *Nation* analyzing the McCarthy-Stevens fracas placed the issues correctly and was a very much needed clarification. Particularly of value was its analysis of the basic weaknesses of the position taken by the *New York Times*.

JOSEPH F. KEHOE

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Department of Apologies

Dear Sirs: In my article *Loyalty Trap* for Church and Synagogue which appeared in your March 6 issue the title of Dr. F. Weir was given erroneously as president of the Los Angeles Church Federation. Dr. Weir is executive director of the organization.

Los Angeles

MARTIN HALL

Dear Sirs: I appreciate the interest which you have taken in me and I regret that there are several inaccuracies in the article. My assistant called these to Mr. Kemler's attention after we received the proofs, but I am advised that the article had already gone to press.

For the record I would like to make several corrections.

1. The population of Fayetteville, Arkansas, is 17,024 not 8,212. I might add that my father was not the wealthiest man in Fayetteville. His wealth at the time of his death has been greatly exaggerated.

2. My father died in 1924 rather than in 1936 as is stated.

3. I was assigned to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 1943 rather than 1942. I did not enter Congress until January 3, 1943.

4. The article states that "in a private phone call from the White House . . ." President Truman had made certain references to me. This is not true because I never had such a private telephone conversation with former President Truman.

5. Regarding the Board of Foreign Scholarships, there are ten members of the board rather than eight. It is no longer headed by Professor Johnson. President Hovde of Purdue University is the present chairman.

J. W. FULBRIGHT

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: I am sorry that my sources led me astray on some of the statistical points. With respect to the "private call from the White House," the call was not made to Senator Fulbright but to Senator Charles Tobey, according to *Time* magazine.

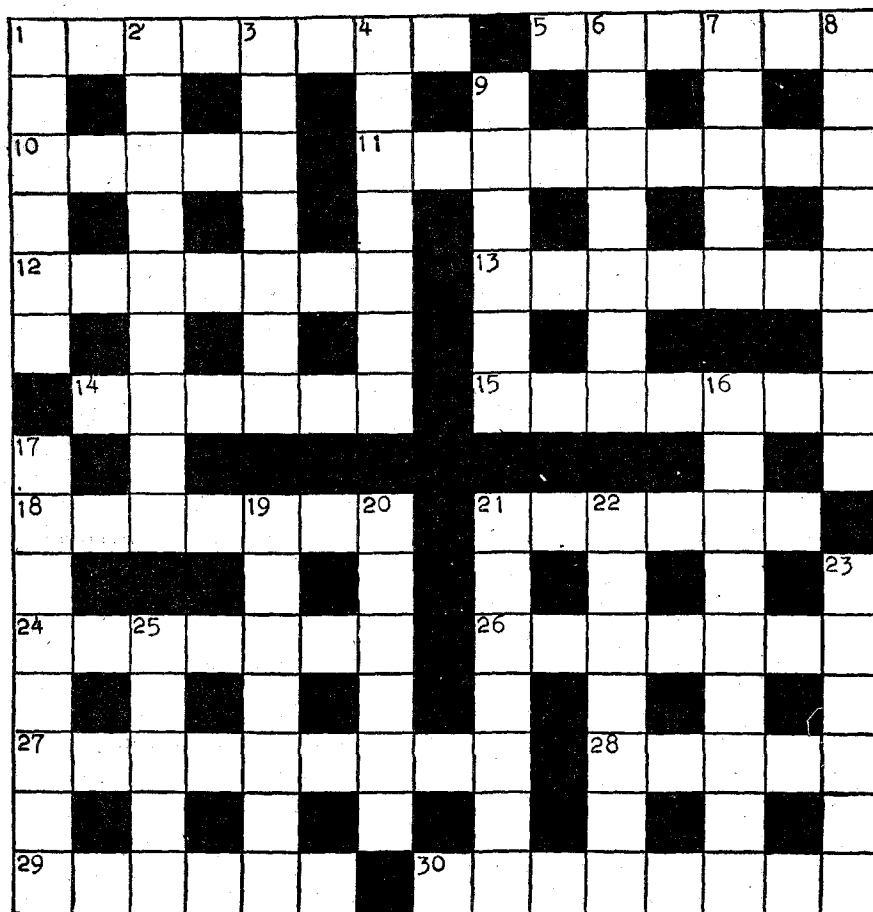
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BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

The *NATION*

Crossword Puzzle No. 559

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 5.
- 5 and 1 across. Are scrapers so useful when gathered? (6, 3, 5)
- 10 and 13. No quiet, apart from this. (Usually strings along with the first member.) (5, 7)
- 11 See 12. (9)
- 12 100-legged, like 11—mounted, but not stuffed! (7)
- 13 See 10 across.
- 14 See 21 across.
- 15 Sensing difficulty with one's standards, perhaps? (7)
- 18 All rats are not reds, obviously. (7)
- 21 and 14. Monkeys with parasites? Nonsense! (12)
- 24 This might be brewing behind the iron curtain. (7)
- 26 See the office, that is. (7)
- 27 A false claim up in the city office is like this. (9)
- 28 This might go on top of the stack. (5)
- 29 What you find in codes is the answer, implying "stop." (6)
- 30 Are we supposed to do this to the lilies? (8)

DOWN

- 1 Climbing spot around the common number of 2 and 27. (6)
- 2 Came up to the sort of a diet which causes the lean and hungry look. (9)
- 3 Diamond. (7)
- 4 In short, the time for Christmas poems? (Makes sense!) (7)

- 6 Orwell put one of them on a farm. (7)
- 7 "The choice hidden handful of the Divine _____." (Melville) (5)
- 8 The most sizeable tears get torn like this. (8)
- 9 Incomparable. (6)
- 16 Precious metal measurement, but not at all like Troy! (9)
- 17 Continued under the sign of 10, it might be imagined. (8)
- 19 They haven't had experience the perfect man has. (7)
- 20 It might be embarrassing to remove an overcoat, for instance. (6)
- 21 Not necessarily the name of a bulldog around Yale, for the benefit of opera-lovers. (7)
- 22 Nods. (7)
- 23 See 25.
- 25 and 23. Does one cry out in the pits? (What belongs to me gets cleaner.) (4, 7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 558

ACROSS:—1 and 24 down ABSENT WITHOUT LEAVE; 10 OSSICLE; 11 PARADER; 12 DOMINIONS; 13 ARRAS; 16 GOLD MINE; 19 STENCILS; 20 DANGLE; 22 BAMBI; 23 APOSTOLIC; 25 MANACLE; 26 TOUCANS; 27 WATER SOFTENER.

DOWN:—2 BOSOM; 3 ECCENTRIC CIRCLE; 4 TREMOR; 5 IMPOSTOR; 6 HARD AND FAST RULE; 7 UNDERLING; 8 SOLDIERS; 15 PNEUMONIA; 17 EXERCISE; 18 CLEANERS; 21 and 9 COAT OF ARMS; 22 BUMP.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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At the right, the famous Cancer Research issue of *Exposé*. It shook the cancer racketeers: by turning the spotlight on honest doctors who have actually arrested and cured hundreds of cases of cancer, despite a conspiracy to harass and destroy them. The article showed that organized groups were actually ganging up against possible solutions to cancer.

This issue went into five printings. It now threatens to outsell our best-selling "The Truth About Winchell" issue. (For the latter, *Exposé* was called the David that cut down Goliath. Winchell, knocked from his pedestal, was never able to make a comeback.)

Many issues of *Exposé* have been history-makers.

You missed something if you missed our interview with Gerald L. K. Smith two months ago.

In January of this year, Charles Tobey, Jr., told *Exposé* readers the story of his cancer and his remarkable recovery. He spoke frankly of the venal medical group which works against an investigation of the tested and proven treatment of cancer which had saved his life.

Last month, George Seldes (of *In Fact* fame) told *Exposé* readers about the strange and embarrassed newspaper silence which has greeted his new book "Tell the Truth and Run."

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